Fellowship

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It is vain to raise hands toward heaven or to beg the sexton to admit us to the ear of the image, as though we might thus be heard the better. God is near thee, he is beside thee, he is within thee. The holy spirit lives within ourselves, observer and guardian of our good and ill.

"Epistles," Seneca

Unarmed and Unafraid, by Andre Trocme
The Newest Cherub's Christmas Poll, by Alfred Hassler
Behind the Curtain, by George L. Paine
The Story of the Bruderhof
Only Day Before Yesterday

ff ANDRE TROCME, FRENCH FOR SECRETARY, tells what it's like to be a Frenchman and a pacifist in Germany, in the moving "Unarmed and Unafraid." Since the trip to Germany he has taken part in Garry Davis' protest against the imprisonment of French COs, and been briefly in jail a couple of times in Paris in connection with these demonstrations. . . . The Newest Cherub, a favorite with FELLOWSHIP's readers, has recently been on another mission to Earth, according to Alfred Hassler. Here is the story, as it also appears in the Cherub Christmas Card, one of the FOR's three beautiful and meaningful cards. . . . George Paine of Boston, longtime FOR member and for some time Secretary of the Boston FOR, reports on a trip made this summer to some of the "iron curtain" countries—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Hungary. . . . The Bruderhof and its ways are simply and intelligently explained by some of its people . . . and Milton Mayer comes up with a haunting description, from the Frederick Lewis Allen book *Only Yesterday*, of the hysteria, so like what we are experiencing now, that gripped this country after World War I.

FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship
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Unarmed and Unafraid

By ANDRÉ TROCMÉ

COURAGE IS THE PRINCIPAL virile virtue, which refines the spirit of those who are animated by it, and brave men recognize courage across frontiers of nationality or ideology.

But must courage always mean destruction to the adversary? Will it always need to sow hatred and a thirst for revenge among its victims?

While I was in Germany I had to go from Luneburg to Hamburg. It being Sunday there was no transport, so the British Military authorities commandeered a German civilian and his car to take me.

In vain I tried to converse with my driver. He hated me, visibly, because I belonged to one of the occupying powers. When we reached one of the suburbs he stopped his car and pointed out to me a shapeless pile of bricks, the remains of a bombed building, and opened his mouth for the first time.

"Under there," he said, "the corpse of my father has been lying for three years."

Starting up the car, he stopped again 200 yards further on and pointing to what had been the street corner, said, "That's where my sister found my mother next morning, but she had gone mad."

Then he added: "And you'll tell me that the English airmen who did that, in the tragic night of the first air raid on Hamburg, who, with their phosphorous bombs, set fire to 16,000 old people, women and children like torches, so that all they could do was to throw themselves into the canals to put out the flames that were burning them up—you'll tell me that these airmen who went home again to tea and toast, who the next morning went back to their families and perhaps to church to take Holy Communion—you'll tell me that

(Reprinted from June 3, 1949 issue of Peace News)

these airmen can teach us democracy and Christianity and can moralize to us on what has taken place in German concentration camps?

"Well, I tell you, they haven't the right! And all they've taught me is to wish to find a means of some day avenging the crimes they've committed!"

A few days later I was told it had been arranged for me to give a lecture in an internment camp where 6,000 members of the Nazi Party were imprisoned. I protested I wasn't anxious to go, but I went, and addressed 400 of them in a barracks.

Giving up the idea, after my Hamburg experience, of loading them with accusations, I told them quite simply the story of a French village under German occupation. They listened patiently until I spoke of the Jews. When I declared that between four and five million Jews had been systematically exterminated in the gas chambers, the disapproving murmurs burst into a tempest.

"It's a lie!" they shouted. "It's Allied propaganda! And what have the Americans done to our cities, and the Russians to our women? We won't let you speak if you're going to lie like that!"

I let the storm pass, and declared, "I wish I could tell you I am mistaken. Unfortunately the facts are there, the documents prove them."

Then I let them speak. There was a chorus of protestations. "We aren't responsible. We knew nothing of what went on. We have been held here illegally for months. . . ."

I was completely discouraged, and was blaming myself for having come, when a little man at the back of the hall took the floor. This is what he said:

"I don't understand anythin about this 'responsibility of na tions.' People say the Germans a guilty. We reply that it's the Ame icans, the French, the Russian But what is a guilty people? don't know what collective respon sibility is; all I know are indivi ual sins. Are you looking for guil people? I can show you on straight away!"

In profound silence, everyon turned to him with curiosity.

"I Am Guilty"

"I am the guilty one!" he crie "Oh, don't think I've killed m fellow-humans with my ow hands. But this is my guilt. In 193 I entered enthusiastically into th Nazi Party believing sincerely tha Hitler was the savior of my pec ple. When he declared war on Po land I realized he was committin a political crime. As Nazi leade in my village I was supposed t communicate the Party circulars t the people. Although I had m doubts, I played along like every one else.

"In 1942 I heard of what wa happening in the concentratio camps, and how Jews were bein exterminated. Comrades, don't sa you knew nothing about it. We a heard rumors, but preferred to be lieve they were only enemy prop aganda. Why? Because we knev that if we spoke we ran the ris of going there ourselves. Out o cowardice, although my heart wa no longer in it, I followed th herd.

"And that is my sin. I am guilt of fear. There is no collective guil of the German people, but simpl of individuals—each guilty of keep ing quiet when he should hav spoken out!"

I was profoundly moved by this man, whose words visibly hit home to his audience. I asked him, "Dear friend, not only the Germans here but I also, a Frenchman, can confess this sin, for I have often been afraid, as you have. Tell me how you found the courage to speak as you have done."

"It's simple," he said. "I've thought a lot, shut up in here, and I wrote to my wife, 'Send me my Bible.' It was in that Book I discovered that there is no collective responsibility, but only individual guilt."

The meeting broke up in excitement. I went to shake the hand of the man who had expressed much better than I the essentials of what I wanted to say. Since then we have corresponded. He has become one of my friends.

Many thousands of people, as he has, have repented of sins committed during the war, or from the first refused to be carried away in the infernal cycle of hate, fear and massacre.

The bravest man I knew was my friend Hermann Stohr, a publicist from Stettin whom I met at conferences in France and Germany before the war.

In 1939 he refused to put on uniform. Brought before the German People's Court in Berlin, he was condemned to death. His chaplain, Pastor Polchau, tells me his defence was so noble that the Tribunal, at the moment of giving sentence, was moved to tears.

After the verdict, the President of the Tribunal sent for him and said, "Stohr, I was obliged to condemn you, for German military law is inexorable. But in my soul and conscience I believe you are innocent. So I ask you to sign your appeal this very evening. Though it is never done, I, the President of the Tribunal that condemned you, will support your request!"

And he did. But Stohr's lawyer, through a tragic mistake, sent it direct to the Fuehrer, who, in a towering rage, ordered Stohr to be executed.

He was beheaded with an axe. But the chaplain told me that his last hours were a triumphal entry into the world to come.

There have been and there will be soldiers who die for their cause.

But I believe that those who really prepare a better future are the courageous ones who die without harming either their enemies or their executioners, the witnesses and the martyrs like Hermann Stohr.

Slaughter of the Innocents

Children sleep quietly tonight
In France and Germany and Greece.
Cold does not harm, nor wind affright,
Nor any threat disturb their peace.

They should be restless with the storm,
And dreaming of tomorrow's play.
Mothers should ask if they are warm,
And kiss the fearfulness away.

But mothers knew this calm sleep first,
Alternative to tortured breath.
Weary and freezing, hunger-cursed,
They gained war's only mercy—death.

—Elinor Lennen

The Story of the BRUDERHO

THE FIRST TASK OF MEN IS to live as brothers. That is the task we at Primavera wish to fulfil. We want to tell of the life of our community so that FELLOWSHIP readers may have a picture of how it is in Primavera.

Primavera is a tract of land in eastern Paraguay comprising twenty thousand acres of alternating forest and grassland. Here there are three communal villages, Loma Hoby to the west; Isla Margarita half an hour's walk away on the other side of the main forest, and back in the woods, thirty-five minutes from each, Ibate, the smallest of the three.

Here live ninety families, including 342 children and a number of single men and women—in all six hundred people of seventeen nationalities. The three villages are one in attitude and economy, and it is always a joyful occasion when people from all three meet in one village to consider jointly some question of general importance.

In all, the social pattern is the same. In the center of each village stands a complex of communal buildings, the dining-room which is also used for meetings, the kitchen, the storerooms and the laundry. Close by in the shade of the forest is the children's community, with two nurseries, kindergarten and a school. The dwelling houses are sometimes large houses, divided into apartments, sometimes bungalows, and are of brick, wood or adobe, with thatched roofs. Furniture is made in the community's workshop out of native wood. Electric light is provided by our own generator.

The family is a cell of community. The enduring faithfulness that is between all who go the way of community is seen especially clearly here. In the twenty-nine years of our history there has never been among us a case of unfaithfulness to marriage. Parents have a special task with their own children, but each one shares the responsibility for the support and education of all the children of the community. When a father or mother is disabled the brotherhood cares that the family gets extra help. Naturally this puts a bigger burden on the individual, particularly as the community cares for

Continued Story

The story of the Bruderhof began in FELLOWSHIP more than a year ago with the publication of an article prepared for this magazine by Bruce Sumner, a member of that community. That article, devoted largely to the beliefs and motives of the colony's founders, aroused much interest among FELLOWSHIP'S readers, which was whetted by the subsequent somewhat critical report of Henry Little on his return from a visit to Paraguay. The present article, prepared by the Brothers, comes in reply to a letter from FELLOWSHIP requesting a more detailed picture of the daily life of their community.

a number of orphans besides its own children. The aged and ill are similarly cared for.

Each family has the privacy of from one to five separate rooms, according to its size. The children sleep at home, have breakfast and tea there and come home in the afternoon and evening. During the day they are cared for and educated in our nurseries, kindergartens and schools. Dinner and supper are eaten together in the community dining-room by all but the younger children, who eat and nap in the nurseries. Cooking and laundry are done communally, and so the separate families are not provided with rooms for these activities.

Community life gives even the youngest children a balance between the family and companions of their own age. As the school, domestic departments, workshops and farms are all together around each village, parents and children see more of one another than is usually the case. Older children often help their parents in the communal kitchen, on the farm or elsewhere. In community the family can become a real spiritual and cultural unit. At the last wedding a trio of a mother and her two daughters gave us an example of the musical life in the family circle. The striking personality differences we see between children of various families who have all been brought up in the community show how strong remains the influence of the family even within community life.

Most of the women are occupied with education. Children brought up in the community have the same instincts and tendencies as children everywhere, but community offers an integrated background for children to grow up in. Seeing peace and constructive work around them is their first step toward God. We treat each child as a separate personality. His abilities and struggles are considered from time to time by the whole brotherhood and teachers and parents cooperate over the child's difficulties. A child backward in school is given extra attention by the parents or by the teacher. We encourage the children to become a community of their own within the larger one, and to put all selfishness and all that is against fellowship out of their ranks. School classes are in the long morning. German, English and Spanish are taught as well as the usual subjects. In the afternoon are games, work in the school garden or helping with the adults. In the kindergarten we seek to awaken the child's consciousness by free activities—by group play and walks to see the cows, the pigs, and so on.

Day Begins at Dawn

The usual weekday at Primavera begins at dawn, about 5 a.m., when we rise and have breakfast at home. Then we work, with a slight pause, until noon, when the whole community meets in the dining-room. Mealtimes are occasions when we sing together, read letters that have a general interest, report world events or talk with our guests. After dinner is a siesta until two, when afternoon tea is taken at home by the families. Then the brothers peel the daily mandioca (a tropical substitute for potatoes), while practical questions are discussed. Work goes on till 5:30, near dusk, when the children come home. Supper is again a

communal meal and in the evenings there is usually a meeting.

Our life is a search each day for truth and unity. We do not know the solution for the many problems that arise every day. But we have faith that the way will be shown us if we seek wholeheartedly for the truth together. Men know the voice of God in their hearts only when they test their intuitions in a united circle. For truth speaks with one voice and leads men together.

Problems Discussed

Each living question is discussed among all the men and women who have fully decided to follow the life of community. Farming, engineering, and technical matters the men especially talk out, but finally the question comes before the whole brotherhood. Different opinions are freely expressed. If, when no one has anything more to say, any person is still unclear on the matter, the decision is postponed until a later meeting. There is no coercion of a minority by a majority. At last when we are all clear, we freely unite in a decision. Those who know the ways of conferences and legislatures may find this hard to believe; we can only testify that it does happen when we put aside all private interest and seek the objective truth.

Individuals are given the tasks of carrying out these decisions. The farm, sawmill, sewing-room and other departments have each a brother or sister in charge. Two brothers in each village are charged with the oversight of the whole life of those who live there; they advise in all questions including personal problems. A housemother sees to the personal needs of each member, such as clothing and bedding, and oversees the cooking, laundry, and sewing departments. A steward coordinates all economic matters and holds the common purse, since among members of the community no money is exchanged and no wages paid. The storekeeper supplies the kitchen and the families with foodstuffs, soap and so on. Work distributors—one man and one woman—arrange among others things the daily chores, as for example that one sister keeps watch over the children of several families, thus freeing the parents for evening activities.

The pattern of these services has grown up naturally from our experience in community living. Anyone holding these services, including the first of the total oversight of the life, is elected by the brotherhood, is responsible to it and subject to its decisions. It is human to want to hand things over to someone else, "the competent," to decide upon. But the only way we have found to live in community is for each individual to bear responsibility for all that takes place within the community. authoritarian systems have no real endurance.

The new people among us are not expected to take part in the making of decisions, but are given time, to grow into the life, become clear about its nature, and free themselves from burdensome personal problems so that they can give themselves wholeheartedly to the tasks of the community. Some of the community have grown up within the movement, others have come from outside, in recent years including some Paraguayan girls who are working and training in the community. The

youth group plans its own activities. They arrange talks, discussions, musical evenings, folk-dancing and plays, or they may make sandals for young children or dig a watering-pond for the milk-herd. They send articles to youth magazines in Europe and would gladly correspond with youth groups in the United States. Each of them learns a craft or profession of his choosing. We send each one out from the community for training and to get to know the world. Each is then free to make his own decision for private life or the way of community.

Agriculture Basic

Our economic foundation, naturally, is agriculture. The arable land lies within a thousand yards of each village and comprises gardens, citrus orchards, improved pasture, and forest clearings. We try to grow as much of our food as possible. Due to climatic conditions this is not possible for all commodities. We use plows, mowers, and similar machines, but forest soil can only be worked with hoe and machete. To conserve soil fertility we have adopted a 5-year rotation-cycle, with compost in the vegetable garden and improved grassland on the farm. We are still experimenting with the problems of subtropical agriculture, testing new plant varieties, replacing the plow with the disk in most places, and other possibilities. Citrus fruits do especially well, even growing wild in virgin forest.

Our Paraguayan neighbors have learned since childhood certain skilled crafts that do not come easily to European hands. We have not enough manpower for all our jobs and need their help. We constantly invite them to come and live with us as brothers, sharing all that we have. So long as they do not choose to do this, however, we gladly accept their help as paid workers. We pay the standard wages of the country as set by the government, though for each job we make an agreement which may be higher than that, in order to insure a fair wage to the worker. These Paraguayans all have their own holdings and are largely independent of us. They come to work for us when they want and stay at home when they want.

We are often glad of their help in work with machete, axe, and lasso, in timber hauling, forest clearing, thatch-making and building with adobe. Sometimes brothers work side by side with them here; at other times the workman will contract for the whole job. The supervision of the work we keep in the hands of members of the brotherhood. Certain Paraguayans, however, care for our ranch-buildings and oxen-wagons and for these men we have built houses, dug wells, and allotted land for their holdings. One sends his children to our school; his oldest girl leads her class in languages. Some of the workers have come to our meetings and stayed to dinner with us. But so far none have come to share our life fully. We hope that one of our new members, herself a Paraguayan though not from this vicinity, will help us to gain a stronger contact with these people, especially through the Guarani language. In the meantime we are glad that they help us, and have the opportunity to see a brotherly life at first hand.

We also gain contact with the people of the country through the

work of our hospital, which is badly needed here in the midst of an unusually poor area with almost no medical facilities. This work is done within a radius of one to two days journey, an area with a population of about thirty thousand. Our hospital has twelve beds, and a disproportionately large out-patient department. The staff consists of four doctors, a laboratory technician, pharmacist, and nursing, office and domestic workers. Because we have no financial reserves we ask for payment when the patient can afford it, but the most serious operations have been carried out without expecting or receiving any payment whatever. Payments received cover only a fraction of the maintenance costs, and it can well be imagined what a burden this is for a community struggling with new conditions in a primitive land. Often we cannot see how we can continue with this work, although we know it must go on, and it can only be done by a sacrifice on the part of the community. This year the number of operations has quadrupled, and the doctors are operating almost night and day. To cope with this work we need help, especially nurses to work with us. A new wing for twelve more beds, a staff house, kitchen, laundry and power house are urgently needed, but as yet we do not know where the necessary capital and labor will come from.

Other work departments include the generation of electricity, the sawmill, the smithy, an engineering repair shop, wood-turning, brickworks, building, leatherwork and cobbling, milling, baking, sugar-cane pressing, fruit-juice bottling and other adjuncts of the economy.

From among the various craf wood-turning is expressive of o attitude towards crafts and m chines. Paraguay is rich in exot hardwoods of exquisite grai From this material a small woo turnery produces turned and la quered goods for sale in our sh in Asuncion: bowls, lamp-shad and so on. They use power-driv lathes. The work is not mass-pr duced, though a certain rationa ization in handling is practice Each piece is designed and guid by the free hand of the craftsma so that, though we use machine the joy of man in creation r mains, and the hand remains t interpreter of the vision within t workman. The possibility of t material, the truth latent in it, given form and expression. Suc is all work in community; a searc to let the Spirit shape materi things to His will.

The Use of Machines

Tools and machines are put t good use in the community. Thu it is that even though these ar produced in an order of societ where workers are exploited, an where the products of the machin are for private use and gain, th community uses them for build ing up a life of brotherhood that i open to all men, in which product can be shared by all. A refusal t be concerned could result in noth ing but a negative withdrawal. I the midst of war, monopoly an totalitarianism, isolation from th people of the world is precisel what we are not seeking. We fin it impossible to turn aside to spiritual retreat dedicated to som sort of purified self-sufficiency While we are in the world, th need of men and that crying out o

their common misery will be with us and must activate us.

Our task is rather to build up a completely different kind of life in which we can fight together against that human egotism and selfish isolation which is the well-spring of war, moral anarchy, and private property. To this building up of a society which lives peace, we must devote ourselves, for all half-measures and patchings, class struggle, labor organizing, education, fail to strike at the root evil.

Our longing is always to go out to men with the message of a new social order. The brothers who are sent out to spread this message have a reality, a social life behind them which is a realization of Jesus' words, and they call men to a real, practical life of brotherhood and peace. In the past years we have sent brothers out to Germany, Switzerland, England, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil and Chile, and at the moment two brothers are in the United States. We are publishing two books this year, one in the States and one in England. In the last twelve months we have sent out nearly three thousand letters to people in thirty-five countries.

We need money, materials and working strength for our hospital work, to support the orphans adopted by the community and to sustain projects like the one we undertook this year in bringing one hundred and thirteen Displaced Persons out of camps in Europe to find a new life in South America. But most of all we are seeking people who will come and live with us in this same life of brotherly community, and give their whole lives, as we have given them, to the building of a new society.

We hope this article will have given an impression of our life, but we are fully aware that much of what we have said can really only be understood after experiencing the life itself. And so we must say to all who are concerned to find the solution to today's problems: contact us or the two brothers in the States personally, and if possible visit us here in Paraguay.

The Current Sickness

Men who do not love one another are sick.

They are sick, not from any sickness arising within themselves, but from a sickness which the malorganization of their societies has thrust upon them.

The belief in fake values, in competition instead of cooperation, in class and race and national prejudice instead of love, in narrow selfish interests instead of altruism, in atomism (especially atombombism) instead of universalism, in the value of the dollar instead of the value of the man, represents social man turning upon all that is biologically good in him.

—By Dr. M. F. Ashley-Montagu, in the *Journal of Social Psychology.*

The Newest Cherub's Christmas Poll

By ALFRED HASSLER

Drawings by Simon Frankel

THE CHIEF CELESTIAL STATISTICIAN'S eyes shone benignly—as all eyes shine Up There—as he peered down at the Newest Cherub. "The Lord," said the Chief Celestial Statistician, "wants a Christmas poll—how people feel these days about His Son's birthday. Like to try taking a poll, little one?"

"Mm-hm," said the Newest Cherub happily. "I'll find out about Peace on Earth and all that, huh?"

"And all that," agreed the Chief Statistician soberly.

THE golden stairs run straight down from the Celestial Gate, but they do not always end at the same place, and the Newest Cherub peered eagerly downward to see where he would land.

"I'll bring back a grand report," he told himself gleefully. "The Lord's been looking a little sad lately, but I'll cheer him up for sure."

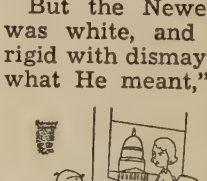
A moment later he passed a sign spread on a small cloud, reading:

"United States of America, Earth," and then another, that said—"Oak Ridge, Tennessee!"

"Hey," said a puzzled voice, "where'd you come from?"

The Newest Cherub looked at the guard and his rifle and the barbed wire fence. "I'm making a survey on peace," he explained doubtfully. The guard laughed. "You've come to the right place, sonny," he said. "We make peace here—an atom at a time. Peace on earth or no earth—that's our motto!"

But the Newest Cherub's face was white, and his wings stood rigid with dismay. "But that wasn't what He meant," he cried. "That wasn't what He meant at all!"



SENATOR JINGO'S secretary slapped a long piece of paper down on the desk and scowled at the Newest Cherub.

"Frankly, young man," she said, "people who talk like you are usually crackpots or subversives. Now you fill out this questionnaire, and then take the loyalty oath, and maybe the Senator will see you for five minutes to talk about—what was it?—oh yes, peace on earth."

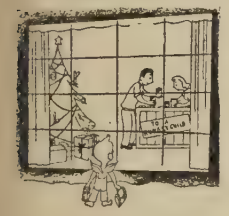
"But," whispered the Newest

Cherub as he tried unhappily to remember if he had ever read the *Daily Worker*, "this isn't it, either. It was supposed to be good will to *all* men."

THE Newest Cherub stood dejectedly behind a pillar in the Mammoth Department Store, and watched the streams of people hurtle by. From time to time a shopper would bump him, and scowl at him, and ask him if he couldn't find something better to do than get in people's way.

It was the morning of the day before Christmas, and the faces of the shoppers looked hurried and tired and often cross, but rarely happy, and the Newest Cherub sighed as he watched, and then walked slowly out of the store, head bent and wings drooping.

IT was night, and the quiet stars twinkled at the Newest Cherub, reminding him of the celestial tree waiting to be trimmed, and of the cherub choir singing carols before the Throne, but still he trudged the darkened streets, lost in gloom. Until a lighted window caught his eye, and he saw inside a man and woman, with a tree's gay branches stretched protectingly over the gifts for their own loved ones, packing a huge box for an unknown hungry child. And their faces, which were the faces of the guard and the Senator's secretary and all the shoppers, were alight with tenderness and compassion.



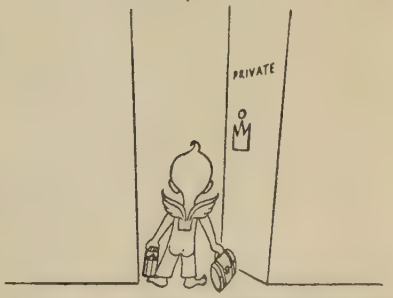
THE Newest Cherub skipped and hopped as he went merrily up the golden stairs, and his high sweet voice sang "Joyful, joyful, we adore thee," and his mind began to frame the report he would make to the Lord.

"Lord," he would say earnestly, "it doesn't look too good down there, I'll admit. They scowl at each other, and suspect each other, and spend a lot of their time figuring out horrible ways to murder each other, but Lord—"

"—they're unhappy when they do those things, and it's only because they're so fearful. They don't trust each other and they don't trust you. But they want to, Lord, and when they forget to be afraid, and when they let themselves love, Lord, then it's all right. And they *can* love, Lord, they can—and they *will*, some day. I'm sure they will."

Then a deep voice came from the Throne Room, and rumbled and echoed like distant, benignant thunder.

"I know, my son," said the deep voice. "I believe, too."



—From "The Newest Cherub's Christmas Poll," the FOR's 1949 Christmas card.

A Member of the Fellowship's National Council Brings Back a Report from—

Behind the Curtain

By GEORGE L. PAINE

FOUR OF US have just put in eight solid weeks the other side of the famous Curtain. We visited Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia. Our party consisted of Jerome Davis, formerly Professor of Sociology at Yale Divinity School and of recent years a traveler, writer and lecturer; Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor of Sociology at New York University (now retired), author and lecturer, and Secretary of the National Council of American-Soviet Relations; Arthur E. Long of Ohio State University, and myself. For shorter periods we also had Kirtley Mather, Professor at Harvard, and Benjamin E. Mays, President of Morehouse College, Atlanta.

In each country we made immediate contact with the government through its Department of Cultural Relations, or some similar department, presenting a list of the places we would like to visit and the people we wanted to meet and interview. They satisfied practically every request and added others. We kept busy mornings, afternoons and evenings, talking and visiting factories and plants of many kinds, private and cooperative shops, and private, cooperative and state farms.

Usually we were taken around by our official guide and interpreter, but we also met and talked with a great many people on our own, as Davis talked Russian and German, Fairchild French, Greek and some German, and I French and some German. We had interviews with the presidents of Bosnia, Slovenia, and Yugoslavia (Tito), the vice-president of Macedonia, and many ministers and key men of the different governmental departments; the Greek Orthodox Archbishop, a Lutheran Bishop, and many priests and ministers and Moslem Imams. We would also buttonhole almost anybody anywhere and pump him as to his job, his wages, his views, his feelings and his general outlook. FELLOWSHIP readers will be interested in our findings.

Terrifically in Earnest

The active Communists are terrifically in earnest, working intensely, supremely confident. With a minimum of resources they are overcoming unbelievable obstacles and rapidly making not only complete recovery but noteworthy advances. Warsaw, which had been made 80 percent uninhabitable, has been largely rebuilt and the people are fast moving back. The same is true of other cities and villages. Although roughly two-thirds of the cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry, and

half the horses, were killed during the four years of war and German occupation, their numbers are now nearly normal again.

Factories and industrial plants have been rebuilt or reconditioned and new ones are going up. We saw one plant that is turning out forty freight-cars daily; another large quantities of agricultural machinery; another, situated near a coal mine, is producing electric power for all the region thereabout. At Neretva 4,000 workers are building a high dam across the Rama River to make a lake fifteen miles long.

Everywhere most of the work has to be done by hand, as they lack the power machines that enable us to turn out so much so fast. They want badly to buy our machinery, but we will not sell to them. In one plant I saw labels on machines from eight different cities in England, Germany and the U.S.A. They have picked it up wherever they could get it, although they are now beginning to make some for themselves.

At the cooperative or state farms, groups of ten to fifteen would gather to talk with us and then show us around. They were enthusiastic over their spirit of cooperation, their new methods of work, the larger scale of production and the larger returns. On one farm, which had previously been privately owned, by cooperation they are able to do with 450 horses the work which had required 600 before, so they were able to sell the surplus 150 to another farm.

Contrary to what most of us have believed, the great majority of farms are still in private hands. Some of the owners, individualists like the French peasants and us Americans, admitted they could make larger incomes in the cooperative, but preferred to carry on separately. The governments have been going very slowly in bringing farmers into collective farms, one good reason being that tractors, which make large scale farming profitable, are not yet in sufficient supply.

The Dispossessed Wealthy

At the other extreme are the "dispossessed," large property holders who had had their estates confiscated (usually they were allowed to retain about 50 acres per family) and their big houses and summer villas taken from them. Naturally they were resentful, though we met a few who said they really were happy under these socialized and more equitable conditions. We met business and professional men who had formerly had very good incomes. Such of these as the new government trusted not to be disloyal were offered similar positions, but at much lower salaries; others were not so fortunate. One man, formerly a leading banker and member of the Chamber of Commerce in Prague, sadly told me that he intended to retire to his place in the country and "dig potatoes." Another, younger man, proprietor and manager of a successful wineshop inherited from his father, told me the state was taking over his shop at the end of the month but had offered to retain him as manager. He said the salary would hardly be sufficient to support himself, his wife and children, so he was thinking of going to find some other job, probably as a wood-chopper in the near-by forest. Another, a lawyer in Budapest, whose wife I knew in New York, was still in law work but now for the state on a fixed salary, which

is undoubtedly much less than he had been making in his private practice.

Peasants and Workers Divided

As for the peasants, it is not easy to decide how the majority feel. Those who have received allotments from the dividing up of the big estates presumably feel happy. They are now proprietors instead of underpaid hirelings. They are free where they had been serfs. Those who voluntarily throw in their lot with a cooperative or a state farm must expect that the new system is going to be to their gain. The dyed-in-the-wool individualists must look askance at the development of socialism which may some day engulf their homesteads.

Likewise with industrial and state workers we found divided views; but at least everyone who wants a job can get one and at a living wage. That gives a sense of security that is worth a good deal. Moreover, the state takes care of the worker in many ways in addition to giving him his cash payments. He gets an abundant and very cheap meal, an absurdly low rent—only four or five percent of his income—two weeks vacation with pay, and the prospect, if he has been a good worker, of spending his vacation at some attractive lakeside or mountain resort. I met scores of thousands of such vacationists. What had been private villas and hotels for the rich around Lake Balaton, for example, (the second largest lake in Europe) were now rest-homes for the workers and were jammed full. The numerous beaches were thronged.

This is what they call democracy. If a worker gets sick or injured the hospital opens its door gratis and the doctor is paid by the state. Old people receive pensions. Expectant mothers quit work for forty days before and for forty days following confinement, but receive full pay and medical attention without cost. Schooling is compulsory to the age of 14, but free as it is also for those who wish to keep on through high school, or even university. Most students may receive scholarship aid sufficient to cover the cost of board and lodging. Presidents and professors of state universities at Prague, Budapest and Belgrade told us the universities are growing in size. The majority of the students are still from the old bourgeois class, as the illiterates under the old regimes have not had time to work their way up through the required grades. The proportion is changing rapidly each year in favor of the proletarian and the peasant. All these items and many others have to be taken into account when we are discussing real wages and standards of living.

Religious Conditions Complicated

Religious conditions also reveal complications and uncertainties. The Greek Orthodox Church seems to be getting on well with the new regime, as also are the Czech Church of the Brethren, and the Czech National Church, the recent break-away from the Roman Catholic Church. The small Unitarian denomination in Czechoslovakia of 10,000 members was glad at the prospect of the proposed new law, soon to be voted on and undoubtedly to be passed, whereunder the state is to assume the payment of all clerical salaries, in return for

which favor the state would have the right to pass on the nominations for clerical posts, to oversee the administration of the church and the churches would agree strictly to keep out of politics. Aside from the Latin Church, the churches in Eastern Europe have always left politics and even social activities alone. The small Protestant denominations look askance at such a law, as at any close connection of the state and church, much as we in this country would.

With the Roman Catholic Church, however, things are different. It has long had strong political as well as ecclesiastical influence in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, which it is reluctant to surrender. It is fighting to retain this influence, but the modern states intend to be the only dominant power. Hence the controversy.

In Hungary, Cardinal Mindszenty was working vigorously to overthrow the Communist regime and to restore the monarch and to reestablish the authority of his Catholic Church. The state got possession of his voluminous correspondence with Archduke Otto, Cardinal Spellman and others. This, of course, was treachery against the government, which naturally felt it necessary to arrest, to try and, having convicted him, to imprison. The trial was conducted openly, fairly, with many newspaper correspondents close by, and the evidence against him was overwhelming. I talked with a former judge in Budapest, who said, "I and all my family are devout Catholics. Naturally, we would prefer to believe the Cardinal innocent but, as a judge, I must weigh the evidence and only one verdict is possible. The Cardinal was guilty and deserved his fate."

I talked with a number of Roman Catholic priests in the different cities. They were cautious in what they said, but one could infer that they sensed the conflict, were not happy over it, and uncertain how things would turn out. One Jesuit priest in Belgrade admitted that he knew of three fellow priests who had been jailed, to serve sentences of from one to four years. He "didn't know" the reason for their jailing, but his shrugged shoulder and lifted brow suggested he might guess why.

There is much to be said on both sides. Only one thing is clear: that any view is mistaken which sees all good on one side and all bad on the other.

. . . Among crimes, the social and the historical are condoned as last infirmities of noble mind, and their perpetrators are very generally admired. The lustful and intemperate, on the contrary, are condemned by all—even themselves (which was why Jesus so much preferred them to the respectable Pharisees). We have no God of Brothels, but the God of Battles, alas, is still going strong.

—Excerpts from DEATH AND THE BAROQUE, by Aldous Huxley, to be published by Harper and Brothers.

Only Day Before Yesterday

"IF THE American people turned a deaf ear to Woodrow Wilson's plea for the League of Nations during the early years of the Post-war Decade, it was not simply because they were too weary of foreign entanglements and noble efforts to heed him. They were listening to something else. They were listening to ugly rumors of a huge radical conspiracy against the government and institutions of the United States. They had their ears cocked for the detonation of bombs and the tramp of Bolshevist armies. They seriously thought—or at least millions of them did, millions of otherwise reasonable citizens—that a Red revolution might begin in the United States the next month or next week, and they were less concerned with making the world safe for democracy than with making America safe for themselves.

"Those were the days when column after column of the front pages of the newspapers shouted the news of strikes and anti-Bolshevist riots; when radicals shot down Armistice Day paraders in the streets of Centralia, Washington, and in revenge the patriotic citizenry took out of the jail a member of the I.W.W.—a white American, be it noted—and lynched him by tying a rope around his neck and throwing him off a bridge; when properly elected members of the Assembly of New York State were expelled (and their constituents thereby disfranchised) simply because they had been elected members of the venerable Socialist Party; when a jury in Indiana took two minutes to acquit a man for shooting and killing an alien because he had shouted, 'To hell with the United States'; and when the Vice-President of the nation cited as a dangerous manifestation of radicalism in the women's colleges the fact that the girl debaters of Radcliffe had upheld the affirmative in an intercollegiate debate on the subject: 'Resolved, that the recognition of labor unions by employers is essential to successful collective bargaining.' It was an era of lawless and disorderly defense of law and order, of unconstitutional defense of the Constitution, of suspicion and civil conflict—in a very literal sense, a reign of terror.

". . . This latter group of communists and anarchists constituted a very narrow minority of the radical movement—absurdly narrow when we consider all the to-do that was made about them. Late in 1919 Professor Gordon S. Watkins of the University of Illinois, writing in *The Atlantic Monthly*, set the membership of the Socialist party at 39,000, of the Communist Labor party at from 10,000 to 30,000, and of the Communist party at from 30,000 to 60,000. In other words, according to this estimate, the Communists could muster at the most hardly more than one-

tenth of one percent of the adult population of the country; and the three parties together—a majority of whose members were probably content to work for their ends by lawful means—brought the proportion to hardly more than two-tenths of one percent, a rather slender nucleus, it would seem, for a revolutionary mass movement.

"But the American business man was in no mood to consider whether it was a slender nucleus or not. He, too, had come out of the war with his fighting blood up, ready to lick the next thing that stood in his way. He wanted to get back to business and enjoy his profits. Labor stood in his way and threatened his profits. He had come out of the war with a militant patriotism; and mingling his idealistic with his selfish motives, after the manner of all men at all times, he developed a fervent belief that 100-percent Americanism and the Welfare of God's Own Country and Loyalty to the Teachings of the Founding Fathers implied the right of the business man to kick the union organizer out of his workshop. He had come to distrust anything and everything that was foreign, and this radicalism he saw as the spawn of long-haired Slavs and unwashed East-Side Jews. And, finally, he had been nourished during the war years upon stories of spies and plotters and international intrigue. He had been convinced that German sympathizers signaled to one another with lights from mountain-tops and put ground glass into surgical dressings, and he had formed the habit of expecting tennis courts to conceal gun-emplacements. His credulity had thus been stretched until he was quite ready to believe that a struggle of American laboring-men for better wages was the beginning of an armed rebellion directed by Lenin and Trotsky, and that behind every innocent professor who taught that there were arguments for as well as against socialism there was a bearded rascal from eastern Europe with a money bag in one hand and a smoking bomb in the other.

New Year's Day Raids

". . . In scores of cities all over the United States, when the Communists were simultaneously meeting at their various headquarters on New Year's Day of 1920, Attorney General Palmer's agents and police and voluntary aides fell upon them—fell upon everybody, in fact, who was in the hall, regardless of whether he was a Communist or not (how could one tell?)—and bundled them off to jail, with or without warrant. Every conceivable bit of evidence—literature, membership lists, books, papers, pictures on the walls, everything—was seized, with or without a search warrant. On this and succeeding nights other Communists and suspected Communists were seized in their homes. Over six thousand men were arrested in all, and thrust summarily behind the bars for days or weeks—often without any chance to learn what was the specific charge against them. . . . Ultimately a considerable proportion of the prisoners were released for want of sufficient evidence that they were Communists. Ultimately, too, it was divulged that in the whole country-wide raid upon these dangerous men—supposedly armed to the teeth—exactly three pistols were found, and no explosives at all. But at the time the newspapers

were full of reports from Mr. Palmer's office that new evidence of a gigantic plot against the safety of the country had been unearthed. . . .

"Mr. Palmer was in full cry. In public statements he was reminding the twenty million owners of Liberty bonds and the nine million farm owners and the eleven million owners of savings accounts, that the Reds proposed to take away all they had. . . . Politicians were quoting the suggestion of Guy Empey that the proper implements for dealing with the Reds could be 'found in any hardware store,' or proclaiming, 'My motto for the Reds is S.O.S.—ship or shoot.' . . . College graduates were calling for the dismissal of professors suspected of radicalism; school teachers were being made to sign oaths of allegiance; business men with unorthodox political or economic ideas were learning to hold their tongues if they wanted to hold their jobs. . . .

"Patriotic" Societies

". . . The professional super-patriots (and assorted special propagandists disguised as professional super-patriots) had only begun to fight. Innumerable patriotic societies had sprung up, each with its executive secretary, and executive secretaries must live, and therefore must conjure up new and ever greater menaces. Innumerable other gentlemen now discovered that they could defeat whatever they wanted to defeat by tarring it conspicuously with the Bolshevist brush. Big-navy men, believers in compulsory military service, drys, anti-cigarette campaigners, anti-evolution Fundamentalists, defenders of the moral order, book censors, Jew-haters, Negro-haters, landlords, manufacturers, utility executives, upholders of every sort of cause, good, bad, or indifferent, all wrapped themselves in Old Glory and the mantle of the Founding Fathers and identified their opponents with Lenin. The open shop, for instance, became the 'American plan.' For years a pestilence of speakers and writers continued to afflict the country with tales of 'sinister and subversive agitators.' Elderly ladies in gilt chairs in ornate drawing-rooms heard from executive secretaries that the agents of the government had unearthed new radical conspiracies too fiendish to be divulged before the proper time. Their husbands were told at luncheon clubs that the colleges were honeycombed with Bolshevism. A cloud of suspicion hung in the air, and intolerance became an American virtue.

"But not only the Communists were dangerous; they had, it seemed, well-disguised or unwitting allies in more respectable circles. The Russian Famine Fund, according to Ralph Easley of the National Civic Federation, included sixty pronounced Bolshevist sympathizers. Frederick J. Libby of the National Council for the Reduction of Armaments was said by one of the loudest super-patriots to be a Communist educated in Russia who visited Russia for instructions (although as a matter of fact the pacifist churchman had never been in Russia, had no affiliations with Russia, and had on his board only American citizens). *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and *The Freeman* were classed as 'revolutionary' by the executive secretary of the American Defense Society. Even *The Survey* was denounced by the writers of the Lusk Report

as having 'the endorsement of revolutionary groups.' Ralph Easley pointed with alarm to the National League of Women Voters, the Federal Council of Churches, and the Foreign Policy Association. There was hardly a liberal civic organization in the land at which these protectors of the nation did not bid the citizenry to shudder. Even the National Information Bureau, which investigated charities and was headed by no less a pillar of New York respectability than Robert W. DeForest, fell under suspicion. Mr. DeForest, it was claimed, must be too busy to know what was going on; for along with him were people like Rabbi Wise and Norman Thomas and Oswald Garrison Villard and Jane Addams and Scott Nearing and Paul U. Kellogg, many of whom were tainted by radical associations.

"There was danger lurking in the theater and the movies. The Moscow Art Theater, the Chauve Souris, and Fyodor Chaliapin were viewed by Mr. Braman of the Allied Patriotic Societies as propagandizing agencies of the Soviets, and according to Mr. Whitney of the American Defense Society, not only Norma Talmadge but—yes—Charlie Chaplin and Will Rogers were mentioned in 'Communist files.'

"Books, too, must be scanned for the all-pervasive evil. Miss Hermine Schwed, speaking for the Better America Federation, a band of California patriots, disapproved of *Main Street* because it 'created a distaste for the conventional good life of the American,' and called John Dewey and James Harvey Robinson 'most dangerous to young people.' And as for the schools and colleges, here the danger was more insidious and far-reaching still. According to Mr. Whitney, Professors Felix Frankfurter and Zechariah Chafee of Harvard and Frederick Wells Williams and Max Solomon Mandell of Yale were 'too wise not to know that their words, publicly uttered and even used in classrooms, are, to put it conservatively, decidedly encouraging to the Communists.' The schools must be firmly taken in hand: textbooks must be combed for slights to heroes of American history, none but conservative speakers must be allowed within the precincts of school or college, and courses teaching reverence for the Constitution must be universal and compulsory.

"No Longer Free"

" 'America,' wrote Katherine Fullerton Gerould in *Harper's Magazine* as late as 1922, 'is no longer a free country, in the old sense; and liberty is, increasingly, a mere rhetorical figure. . . . No thinking citizen, I venture to say, can express in freedom more than a part of his honest convictions. I do not of course refer to convictions that are frankly criminal. I do mean that everywhere, on every hand, free speech is choked off in one direction or another. The only way in which an American citizen who is really interested in all the social and political problems of his country can preserve any freedom of expression, is to choose the mob that is most sympathetic to him, and abide under the shadow of that mob.' "

—From *Only Yesterday, An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties,* by Frederick Lewis Allen. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1931. Reprinted by permission.

News from the Peace Front

Garry Davis Becomes Pacifist; Supporters Arrested Here

In a move that was hailed with satisfaction by pacifist leaders throughout the world, Garry Davis, young American wartime bomber pilot who last year renounced his citizenship in Paris to become a World Citizen, announced that he had become a pacifist. The statement came in connection with the case of the French CO, Jean Moreau, who is in prison in Versailles for refusing to do military service. France has no CO clause in its military service law, and Davis declared that so long as this was true, and young men of high moral convictions like Moreau were in jail, he wished to be in jail too.

Davis' statement reads in part: "I believe the word 'Man' implies being pacifist. . . . A man to me is a thinking and moral being. Should we therefore consider ourselves men, we immediately recognize those values which link all men, and unite them with the Eternal. A clear recognition of this fundamental unity is coincident with a dynamic expression of unifying sentiments: friendship, respect, love, brotherhood, and hence clearly indicates a refusal to be driven by divisive sentiments: hate, fear, anger, greed, bitterness, lust. . . .

"I hope I shall always have the courage to resist the evil of division —though I am increasingly aware of my failings and weaknesses— and be prepared to offer, in what little measure I am able, those unifying sentiments which I know fill the core of my being. . . .

"I am in France as a 'guest' at full liberty and with no identifying papers—clearly an infraction of French law. I serve no national army, nor will I, believing the same as Moreau, and I pay no national taxes for national 'defense.' . . . Therefore if French law regards moral convictions as a criminal offense, I am prepared to accept that title, and must then humbly seek my punishment by asking to serve with the other 'criminal.'"

Rejects Violence

Davis goes on to say that although he had formerly stated his willingness to serve as a pilot in an international police force to enforce world law, he now believes that psychiatric methods based on nonviolence, respect and love are necessary in the treatment of the disease of criminality, not doses of the same disease of violence.

Davis' statement then goes on to present his plan of action, of which his first step was a letter sent to President Auriol of France asking to be put in jail with Moreau. His second step was to move, with a sleeping-bag, to the sidewalk in front of the Cherche-Midi prison in Paris. For his third step he intended to ask other Frenchmen to

join him, and his fourth would be to ask people of other nationalities to participate.

Davis was arrested four times, during the latter part of September, for staying outside the prison, and released each time. The fifth time, he was held and charged with failure to carry proper papers (he has no papers at all, of course), with the threat of possible deportation hanging over him. The vigil in front of Cherche-Midi was immediately taken up by others, among them FOR members André Trocmé and Edouard Theis, both of whom were arrested and later released. Pacifist groups in other countries immediately took up the issue, with demonstrations and requests for Davis' release.

U. S. Pacifists Demonstrate

On October 4, when Davis was to come up for trial in France, a group of twelve pacifists in the United States, including A. J. Muste, Roy Kepler, Winifred Rawlins, John Swomley, George Houser, Bayard Rustin and others, went to Washington to present a letter to Ambassador Henri Bonnet at the French Embassy. Five of the party, including A. J. Muste, went into the Embassy, where they presented the letter, calling for the release of Garry Davis and provision for COs in France, and stating that as a gesture of solidarity with Garry Davis they wished to remain on French soil for the day. After about an hour and a half of discussion with French officials and Washington police, very polite on all sides, they were removed from the Embassy. Outside, the rest of the group had been arrested for picketing, and when they picked up signs the five who had been inside were also arrested. Next day they received sentences of $25 fine or 30 days in jail. Winifred Rawlins chose to serve the time, while the rest paid their fines.

Garry Davis received an eight-day sentence and was released, since he had already been in jail for that period awaiting trial. Since there is now a bill pending before the French parliament to provide for COs, he has decided to wait and see whether it will be acted upon before taking up his protest again.

It was reported from Germany that 139,000 of Davis' supporters there had asked West German President Theodor Heuss to grant Davis asylum there if he were deported from France.

General Contradicted by Scientists on Atom Bomb

Five atomic scientists, in a letter to the New York *Times* dated October 4, contradicted a previous statement in that paper quoted from General Walter Bedell Smith, former Ambassador to the Soviet Union, that it would take Russia at least ten years from now to reach mass production of atomic bombs. Gen. Smith said that American production techniques were much better than those of Russia, and there was "no reason" for the Soviet to reach our present peak in less than ten years.

Harrison Brown, James Frank, Joseph E. Mayer, Leo Szilard and Harold Urey, the scientists, declared: "We, the undersigned, are aware of the problems involved in the large scale production of atomic bombs. To our regret, we have to say that the above statement . . . has no basis in fact."

Scientists Band for Social Responsibility

Meeting on September 9-11 at Haverford College, a group of scientists and engineers from several states founded the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, which aims to "foster throughout the world a . . . tradition of personal moral responsibility for the consequences for humanity of professional activity, with emphasis on constructive alternatives to militarism." The organization plans to expand to other countries, and has already received expressions of interest from English, German and Swiss scientists.

The Society's constitution sets forth the principle that the individual must abstain from destructive work and devote himself to constructive work, according to his own moral judgment, adding that the organization will try to ascertain the boundary between constructive and destructive work to serve as a guide in individual and group decisions. The Society's members will "stand clearly against any war trend, whether in the United States, Russia, or any other country." The Society will operate an employment service to help individuals who leave or refuse destructive work to find other positions.

Officers of the Society elected at this assembly were: President, Victor Paschkis, director of an engineering research laboratory at Columbia University; Vice-president, William F. Hewitt, Jr., of Howard University; Secretary-Treasurer, Vincent Cochrane of Wesleyan University at Middletown. The Council consists of Leonard Dart, Theodore B. Hetzel, Franklin Miller, Jr., William T. Scott, and James G. Vail. Among the officers, Victor Paschkis, Hetzel, Miller, Scott and Vail are members of the Fellowship.

COs Paroled, Registered; Foote Visits Banned

Charles Rickert, sentenced in January, 1949, to 18 months for refusal to register, was released on parole to the Mennonite Central Committee in September. Rickert is the former Bluffton College student in connection with whose case Larry Gara was convicted of counseling nonregistration.

Craig Wilder, student at Garrett Biblical Institute, has been automatically registered by authorities.

Caleb Foote, Executive Secretary of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, has been refused further prison visiting privileges by James V. Bennett, Director of the Bureau of Prisons. The CCCO and its affiliated organizations are working to have the ban rescinded.

All prospective teachers in Albuquerque, N. M., are required to state on application forms whether or not they are church members. "A check of these answers has been successful in weeding out Communists or potential Communists," Superintendent of Schools John Milne says. "We do not refuse to hire nonchurch members who lack membership in a church because of general reasons, but we do refuse to hire them when we find their non-membership is due to a strong anti-religious feeling."

Writers, Ministers, Call for Release of COs

A letter to President Truman signed by 75 prominent people, including college presidents, writers, bishops, professors and many others, and calling for the release of COs now in jail, was released in September by the CCCO. It pointed out that about half the COs were members of the Society of Friends, which has a long record of pacifism and service to humanity; and that no one had been drafted for military service for some months, while COs continue to be sent to jail. In conclusion the statement said: "We urge you to take steps to secure immediate and unconditional freedom for these men. The liberty and tolerance afforded small minorities is the cornerstone of our democratic way of life, and to permit the imprisonment of men solely because of deep-set conscientious objection to war is an infringement of that liberty."

The signers of the statement include Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins, University of Chicago; Presidents Gilbert F. White of Haverford, Lloyd L. Ramseyer of Bluffton, Mordecai W. Johnson of Howard, Clyde R. Milner of Guilford and Thomas E. Jones of Earlham; Bishops James C. Baker, Angus Dun, W. Appleton Lawrence, J. Ralph Magee, Walter Mitchell, Edward L. Parsons, and Malcolm E. Peabody; authors such as Louis Bromfield, Van Wyck Brooks, John Dewey, John Dos Passos, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Marquis James, Kenneth Patchen, Lillian Smith, Louis Untermeyer, Carl Van Doren, Pierre Van Paassen and Mary Jane Ward; professors Robert S. Lynd of Columbia and Pitirim A. Sorokin of Harvard; and many others.

Oswald Garrison Villard Dies in New York

The veteran liberal and pacifist, Oswald Garrison Villard, died on October 1 at his home in New York City. He was a member of the Fellowship from 1917, the year of its founding, until he died, and supported it throughout that time.

Oswald Garrison Villard was the grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, and inherited the daily New York *Post* from his father in 1897. During his editorship it was a fearlessly outspoken liberal and pacifist paper, and although its circulation was not large, its influence was enormous. Villard opposed the entry of this country into World War I, and the paper's circulation suffered so much that he had to sell it. He retained *The Nation*, however, a liberal weekly which had been started in connection with the *Post*. He was in frequent difficulties with it because of his unswerving and unpopular opinions, and once it was banned temporarily from the mails, although his refusal to back down eventually led to its release.

Mr. Villard edited *The Nation* until 1933, when he became a contributing editor. He held this post until 1940, when he resigned because the then editors abandoned pacifism and urged support of the defense program.

Loren and Margaret Stanley Tesdell, FOR members, left on September 15 for Palestine, where they will work under the AFSC.

Naturalization Case Lost by Pacifist

For the first time since the United States Supreme Court, in the Girouard case, ruled that an alien cannot be excluded from citizenship because he is a conscientious objector, citizenship was denied to an alien pacifist. It was the case of Marvin Cohnstaedt, which came before the Kansas Supreme Court on June 11, 1949. Girouard was a Seventh Day Adventist and a IA-O, but Cohnstaedt is not willing to do even noncombatant work in the armed forces, and it is on the basis of this difference that the Kansas court made its decision.

In Nebraska earlier this year a Federal Court granted citizenship to Jacob Wiebe, on the assumption that the Girouard ruling *did* intend to include other than IA-Os, and there have been other cases, including that of Kenneth Boulding, well-known FOR member, economist and poet, in which citizenship has been granted to foreign pacifists other than IA-Os. The Cohnstaedt case is being taken to a higher court.

Tax Refusers Protest Otsuka Imprisonment

"We want to be identified with James Otsuka," said the statement signed by 70 tax refusers, issued on September 15. "We urge every citizen of good will to dissociate himself from the death plans of our country by joining him and us in a refusal to finance war preparations." The statement expresses the dismay of the signers that a vast proportion of the national skill, energy and money are spent in developing more deadly bacteria when cancer, mental illness and alcoholism threaten the world already.

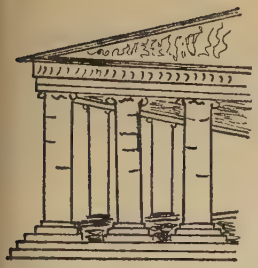
Since March 15, when the first statement was sent out by the Tax Refusal Committee, the number of declared tax refusers has risen from forty-one to seventy.

Dr. Aleck Dodd, Toledo pastoral relations counselor who was fired by the Toledo Council of Churches when a lien was put on his salary to collect unpaid taxes, has been notified by the tax collector to file quarterly returns this year. Tax officials had evidently decided to let last year's returns go, but told Dr. Dodd that if he did not file this year he would be prosecuted.

Mr. and Mrs. Lindley Burton of Bryn Mawr, Pa., have been served with a warrant of distraint.

Jim Peck, one of a group of eight Peacemakers who picketed the Bureau of Internal Revenue on September 15, has been served with a warrant of distraint, and revenue officials later put a lien on his pay. Finding that his next check was intact, he immediately called his bank, and found that they had been served with a notice of levy pursuant to which they were "compelled to sequester the sum" from his account.

The Toronto FOR is undertaking a series of discussion programs on the subject of various minorities and their problems. Members of the minorities will participate, and the fall program will include "The Released Offender," "The Negro," "The East Indian," and "The Esthonian," with films, dances, music and drama to help in cultural interpretations.



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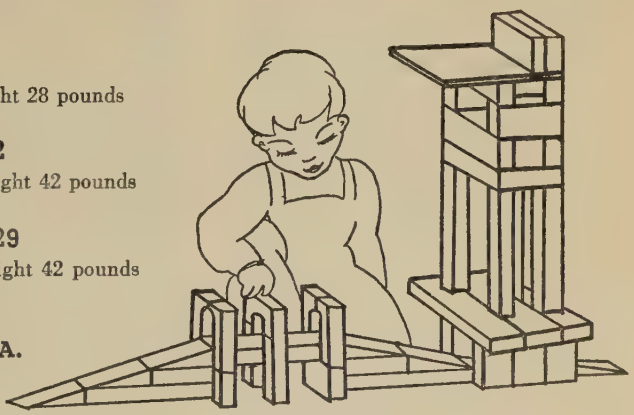

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Raven to Attend 1950 FOR National Conference

The FOR National Conference for 1950 will be held on September 8-10. It will be a large, weekend conference for FOR members from all over the country, in contrast to the past two years, when regional conferences have been held. It is felt that both types of conferences have advantages, and that both can be taken advantage of by changing off from time to time.

Canon Charles Raven of England, President of the British FOR and Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, will be the speaker at the public meeting Friday night which will open the conference, and will give the sermon Sunday morning. This is the only engagement Canon Raven will fill outside of the speaking tour he is coming here to make.

The conference will probably be held in a large city, partly to attract the public to the open meetings, and will be preceded by a training session during the earlier part of the week.

This fall three National Conferences were held: one in North Carolina for the South, one in Ohio for the Middle West and one in Colorado for the Far West. As was to be expected, each individual conference was relatively small, but the total attendance at all three was good, and of exceptionally high calibre, and all felt the programs were very rewarding.

The theme of all three conferences centered around a rethinking of the roots of our pacifist faith, and the four evening sessions at each one were occupied by a series of lectures on this subject, by Prof. Robert Calhoun of Yale Divinity School at the Middle Western Conference, and by A. J. Muste at the Southern and Far West conferences. Muriel Lester led the morning devotional services at each conference. Discussion groups took up specific problems of pacifists and bringing the pacifist message to the public.

Macedonia Community Reports on Progress

In its Report for 1948 the Macedonia Cooperative Community of Clarkesville, Georgia, gives a picture of its problems and progress for the past year, and for the time since its founding in the Blue Ridge foothills in 1937 by Morris Mitchell. The Community, whose men are all COs, raises what food it can, runs its own dairy and saw mill, and makes children's blocks and other wood work for sale. The women cooperate in making meals, canning, and running a nursery school.

Individuals contribute whatever money and property they have to the group, as well as their work and participation in community planning and activities; while the member receives from the group (according to its ability to provide them) food, clothing, shelter, education, vacations, recreation, medical and hospital care, and care and support for his family in case of disability.

Robert Reuman, nonregistrant paroled from Danbury in July, sailed with his wife Dorothy, on September 18, for Hong Kong where he will work for the AFSC.

Books

Tolstoy's Principles

Essays from Tula, by Leo Tolstoy, with an introduction by Nicolas Berdyaev. Sheppard Press, 1948. 292 pp., $3.00.

Nowadays it is customary for people to admit, as Berdyaev does in his significant introduction to this book, that Tolstoy was the greatest moral teacher and prophet of the 19th Century, as well as a great novelist, but then condescendingly set him and his writings aside on the ground that he is out of date, that his moralism was "stuffy," that he over-simplified the problem of evil, or that he has no "solution" to offer our present age.

Berdyaev tells of these charges and does not attempt to refute them. He says in his introduction that we all keep two separate sets of moral account books and that this results in the final disintegration of human existence. Berdyaev highly praises Tolstoy's sensitiveness to moral principles, and his demand for uncompromising truthfulness and uncompromising justice.

Berdyaev then proceeds to show his own separate account books by saying that Tolstoy was an anarchist and implying that anarchism is humanly impossible, that Tolstoy's Christianity was impersonal and "Buddhistic," that all that Tolstoy kept of the Christian tradition was the Sermon on the Mount, that he was "unaware of the mysterious, mystical aspect of Christianity," that he was "blind to the dark, irrational, metaphysical source of evil," and that his positive religious and philosophical ideas "are quite inacceptable to the Christian consciousness." Berdyaev also says here that "Tolstoy is admittedly right when he believes that it is not possible to overcome evil by force, that is, by another evil, and that violence always gives birth to another evil. But it may be legitimately asked if it is not equally true that a check can and must be imposed on the outward manifestations of evil with its untold human victims."

Just above I said that Berdyaev's introduction is significant. It is significant that Berdyaev, a man whose spiritual insight has been so widely acclaimed by many Christians, should doubt Christ's teaching that if we seek first the kingdom of God all the necessary things shall be added unto us. It is significant that just when nonviolent resistance under Gandhi's leadership has defeated the largest, most powerful and most subtle empire the world has ever known, Berdyaev should doubt the ability of spiritual power to conquer evil.

It means something that Berdyaev should say that Tolstoy's teachings are inacceptable to the Christian consciousness apparently because Tolstoy followed literally Christ's statement that "whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for

my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it." It means something that Berdyaev should in effect deny Christ's saying that, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me." (The Greek word for deny in the original text means to utterly repudiate, and is the same word as that where Peter denied Christ at the time of Christ's trial. Can I repudiate myself without repudiating my self?)

It is significant that Berdyaev, though admitting his uneasiness, should prefer the ecclesiastical doctrines of Christianity to the teachings of Tolstoy, and it seems to me of Christ, too. If it is true that Tolstoy's teachings are "quite inacceptable to the Christian consciousness," Berdyaev implies that that is so much the worse for Tolstoy. I would say that it is so much the worse for the "Christian consciousness." The significance of this introduction unintentionally emphasizes, I believe, the significance of Tolstoy for pacifists.

I would advise pacifists, especially those who also profess to be Christians, to read these nine splendid essays by Tolstoy and the introduction by Berdyaev. These essays are little known or not otherwise easily obtainable in English. Then the readers should carefully re-examine the question whether some church metaphysics as well as practice may not be a departure from Christ's original teachings, and therefore wrongfully claiming to be "Christian." Metaphysics and theology are the same thing, both being a study of man's fundamental assumptions.

Some pacifists would be wise to study metaphysics afresh, without the usual Christian bias, perhaps a comparative metaphysics—Buddhist, Islamic, Jewish, Hindu, Taoist, and Christian, and even what purports in the West to be secular—and then see whether the church may have warped some of the original metaphysical teachings and made some profound mistakes there. After such a preparation there might be a challenge to the churches not merely in regard to their moral practices but on the deeper ground of metaphysics and theology. Christ said, "He that is not with me is against me." He also spoke of old bottles that are unable to hold the new wine of the spirit. Tolstoy reminds us of this. Yes, these essays are significant.

—Richard B. Gregg

Chinese Actualities

The United States and China, by John King Fairbank. Harvard University Press, 1948. 381 pages including index. $3.75.

Except for a fatuous conclusion—which is in contradiction to what precedes it—this is a profound study of Chinese actualities that may be unreservedly recommended to anyone interested in a succinct and eminently readable survey of a major complex in international affairs. Indeed, of the several score books about China that I have reviewed in the past twenty years this is the most balanced and informative save for George B. Cressey's *China's Geographic Foundations*.

China, of course, is too vast and ancient for any one book about it to be comprehensive, but Mr. Fairbank has managed to summarize virtually every aspect of Chinese culture, economy and politics that is essential for understanding the present state of the country: torn between Kuomintang and Commu-

nists, largely illiterate, pathetically poor, and internationally a pawn in the rivalry between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. And the educated Chinese know each too well to accept the pious pretensions of either.

The Chinese, to be sure, have their own pretensions which are equally without relation to reality. As Mr. Fairbank makes clear, the virtue and benevolence of classical Chinese society were camouflage for the actuality of Confucian authoritarianism under the direction and for the benefit of a self-perpetuating *elite* that could be compared to either the hierarchy of the Catholic Church or a modern Communist (or Fascist) Party. There was "collective responsibility" and rigorous regimentation, and the "village democracy" that some superficial writers have praised was in fact village domination by the gentry. Further, despite an intellectual tradition of anti-militarism —"good iron is not used to make a nail nor a good man to make a soldier"—China was one of the most imperialistic nations of history.

Yet paradoxically from the viewpoint of Western political philosophizing, there was no *etatism*, but a pronounced attitude of *laissez-faire*. And a paramount question of today for the future of China is whether the Chinese Communists will fit into the ordained course of Celestial history or try unsuccessfully to buck it.

Mr. Fairbank is not clear here, but he does correctly point out that effective Chinese communism has been wholly peasant and in the classical genre of rural rebellion. Indeed, to this day there is no *proletarian* communism of any consequence in China. And I can add from my own firsthand knowledge that up to World War II, it was only to the urban Communist Party that Moscow ever gave any financial support! Most of the leaders of the rural Red Armies did, however, receive training in Russia.

Doubtless it is the mad trend of current American times that caused Mr. Fairbank to suggest in his conclusion that the United States should aid China to raise her living standard, and that "our task is . . . how to contribute to solving China's problems more effectively than the Russians can contribute." Bunk! As if we, with a third of China's population and with less than a tenth of her history, were capable of such a "Superman" role!

In tangible intervention in China, the Russians so far have contributed only millions of rubles compared to America's billions of dollars, but it's the Chinese Communists and not the Kuomintang who are winning. And the former have received more aid from Washington—through American arms captured from the Kuomintang armies —than from Moscow! There's a vital moral in this, but an even greater moral that Mr. Fairbank could have emphasized to his fellow-countrymen is one of his cited gems of Confucian wisdom: *"Acknowledgment of limits leads to happiness."*

—Wilbur Burton

Science of Human Relations

The Proper Study of Mankind, by Stuart Chase. Harper, 1948. 311 pp., $3.50.

Mr. Chase is concerned in this book with the future of the social sciences and the role they might play in modern life. We are only at the dawn of an era, he believes,

in which "scientific method" will be used to study human relations. Man is a part of "nature" and can be studied and understood in precisely the same way and through the same techniques as those employed in the natural sciences. "Scientific" analysis can give us the complete story.

Throughout the book the author endeavors to document this thesis by pointing to significant achievements of the social sciences in recent years—to psychological tests for selection of aviators during the war; to the experiments of Elton Mayo in industrial relations; to W. F. Ogburn's laws of social change; and to the contributions of the cultural anthropologists. If social reformers will only take seriously "scientific method," the world can be gradually remade. If, however, they continue to rely on such unscientific things as philosophy and religion, the future is dark. World peace will come only when we so enlarge our waste-baskets that they will contain most of the appeals now received from "save-the-world" societies—appeals based upon no "scientific" evidence and therefore valueless. Although Chase does not explicitly say so, he would doubtless include most pacifist propaganda in this category.

The critic should thank Chase for his insistence and demonstration that "scientific method" can and should be used far more widely than at present in the study of human relations. But the statement that man is *simply* a part of nature is unacceptable. Man transcends nature while yet remaining a part of it. At one point Chase actually contends that poets tell us nothing about man. But the critic would maintain that, while poets are necessarily not concerned with "scientific" analysis, yet they present a kind of knowledge, or at least insight, without which "the proper study of mankind" would be farcical. Chase thus erroneously identifies "scientific" knowledge, in the narrow sense, with all knowledge. He does not see that a complete understanding of man requires the insignts of poets, religious seers, and philosophers as well as the analyses of scientists.

—Mulford Q. Sibley

Pamphlet Parade

The Meek Shall Inherit the Earth, by Kirby Page. Published by the author, 1948. 32 pp., 15c.

This well-known pacifist lecturer and writer contrasts the meek and loving spirit with the belligerent, swashbuckling spirit in the world, and points to their consequences in the fate of our civilization.

—C.M.

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Letters

Grave Problems

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

As a last year student in high school, I am not able to contribute very much financially to the Fellowship. However, when I am able to send even a small contribution, I shall be happy to do so.

We are all definitely aware of the grave problems which confront us daily. That Fellowship endeavors to solve these problems in a Christian way we also know well. None of us cannot be conscious of the excellent progress that this organization is making. I am filled with a sense of pride and yet humility because I am a member of so fine an organization.

BOB COON
Windsor, Colorado

Just a News Agency

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

If decentralization is a pacifist idea, why doesn't the FOR decentralize? Decentralization will be only juicy conversation so long as the FOR persists in its urban concentrated structure for "good administrative reasons" not readily apparent. We may decentralize along with the War Department after the next war; we'll call this pioneering, while the War Department will regard it as good business.

Carl Landes shrewdly notes that roots in the church are what yield up pacifists. Friends, Mennonites, Brethren, and a sizeable quantity from the major denominations indicate that COs emerge from organized Christianity. The church, rather than the FOR, is the unpublicized production center for pacifists over the years, much as this may pain us rootless liberals.

Is the New York office a news agency reporting on the conchies while the other areas produce them; and reporting the life of Schweitzer while it did not produce him; and Gandhi . . . et al? It's *religion* that makes most pacifists: religion plus landscape. This may have structural meaning for the FOR.

LEON THOMSON
Chicago, Illinois

Rod and Staff

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The enclosed cheque is to cover subscription to FELLOWSHIP for one year and balance for your use. I took a service during my holiday only when I realized how much you needed help.

Thanks for a wonderful magazine. Often I find it my rod and staff and always my ever present helper. I could mention Mayer, Muste, Swomley, but all are of so great stature I mustn't discriminate. All my love and prayers.

REV. WILLIAM R. WELSH
Manitoba, Canada

The Way He Should Go

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Being a mother of three small boys I am unable to participate as I would like in the work of the Fellowship. On the other hand they are probably the greatest challenge for doing good that will come to me.

I believe the scripture which says

"Bring up a *child* in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it." It is one of my fondest hopes that they will become Christian pacifist leaders. And yet I so often feel at a loss to know how to handle the day to day problems of character development. Especially with respect to "sticking up f your rights" and "not letting them g away with that." If a *child* can find a su stitute for violence then the grown ma will also.

MRS. E. NANNINGA
Royal Oak, Michig

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, A AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946.

Of FELLOWSHIP published monthly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1949.

STATE OF NEW YORK } ss.
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personall appeared Alfred Hassler, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes an says that he is the editor of the FELLOWSHIP magazine and that the following i to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, manag ment (and if a daily, weekly, semiweekly or triweekly newspaper, the circulation etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required b the act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 194 (section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations), printed on the reverse of this form, to wi

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, an business managers, are: Publisher—Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, Ne York 25, N. Y.; Editor—Alfred Hassler, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.; Man aging Editor—None; Business Manager—None.

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ALFRED HASSLER, *Edito*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 15th day of September, 1949.

(SEAL)

BURT H. FALL, *Notary Public*, State of New Yor
(My commission expires March 30, 1951

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Card B

A disillusioned and desolate humanity, discarding the trappings of war, reaches in faith and penitence toward the Christmas star. Pen-and-ink drawing by Louis Freund; poem by Peggy Pond Church. Folder, 4 x 5½ inches, printed in two colors.

Card C

A modern "madonna and child" with friends of all faiths and races gathered to adore the babe. Original pen-and-ink drawing by Louis Freund; poem by Elinor Lennen. Folder, 4 x 5½ inches, printed in two colors.

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